The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Galveston-Houston and desegregation, 1945–1984

The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Galveston-Houston and Desegregation, 1945–1984

BY MARK NEWMAN*

Born in Houston in 1943, Madeline E. Johnson, a member of St. Nicholas, an African American Catholic church founded in Houston's Third Ward in 1887, recalled that in her youth she and a cousin once attended Mass at Our Mother of Mercy, a Creole of color church in the Fifth Ward. To her shock and surprise, an usher pushed her and her cousin aside at the altar rail until the last Creole had received communion. Many Creoles of color, who had a mix of French and African (and sometimes Spanish and Native American) ancestry and often spoke French or a French- and African- influenced Creole language, did not consider themselves black as segregation laws categorized them, but to be a distinct group, based on their racial and cultural characteristics. Creoles of color, Johnson remembered, "thought they were better than us. We had segregation within segregation."[1]

In an ironic twist, Creoles of color, whose migration from southwestern Louisiana in the 1920s had created the Frenchtown neighborhood in the Fifth Ward, had helped raise funds to build Our Mother Mercy of Church in 1929 to avoid segregation. They wanted their own church because ethnic Mexicans had segregated them in the rear pews of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, a parish in the Second Ward for people of Mexican descent, and made them take Communion last. According to historian Roberto R. Treviño, the Diocese of Galveston (the Diocese of Galveston-Houston from 1959), established Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, its first "Mexican" church, in 1912 and subsequent missions and parishes for ethnic Mexicans in response to increasing migration from Mexico that began in the 1910s and migration from rural Texas by Tejanos (Texans of Mexican descent), "so as not to offend Anglos accustomed to separation of the races." Although Jim Crow legislation in Texas segregated whites and

"Negroes," and regarded blacks and Creoles of color as Negro, as historian Tyina L. Steptoe has argued in a study of Houston between the two world wars, Jim Crow did not mark "a single color line but several color *lines* that were constantly in flux."[2]

Jim Crow laws regarded ethnic Mexicans as white, but they nevertheless faced segregation and discrimination to varying degrees, sometimes based on the hue of their skin, which varied considerably because most Mexicans had a mixture of white and Indian ancestry and some had African or Afro-Mexican forebears. "Local racial hierarchies," Steptoe observes, "emerged that could both conform to the color line and ignore legal categories." Although segregation laws did not apply to Catholic churches and schools because they were private institutions, in practice the Diocese of Galveston's institutions accommodated and contributed to racial segregation and discrimination in forms that extended beyond a black-white binary and included ethnic Mexicans and Creoles of color. The diocese complied with the segregationist preferences of most of its Anglo laity, but it also accommodated the segregationist inclinations of ethnic Mexicans and Creoles of color towards those they considered black and allowed them to segregate others on their own initiative. Segregation in the Diocese of Galveston was thus shaped in some ways by ethnic Mexicans and Creoles of color, who were themselves subject to segregation inside and outside the church, as well as by the dominant Anglo group.[3]

This study of the Diocese of Galveston-Houston and desegregation addresses a significant gap in the literature on Catholics and desegregation by examining a diocese that by the mid-1960s had a greater black Catholic population (61,961) than even the Archdiocese of New Orleans (55,000) in neighboring Louisiana, the South's most Catholic state. It also contributes to the civil rights history of Southeast Texas. Studies of the African American civil rights movement, desegregation, and African Americans in post-World War II Southeast Texas

have largely or entirely disregarded Catholics, and the ways in which they contributed to, resisted, and adjusted to the African American freedom movement after 1945.[4]

Many scholars have studied the African American and Mexican civil rights movements in Texas, but they have disagreed about their connectedness and ignored segregation in the Catholic Church. Historian Brian D. Behnken argues that "Despite repeated calls for cooperation and a number of examples of interethnic alliances," the two movements "fought their own battles," unable to unite because of the "racial sentiments and prejudices of both Mexican American and blacks." By contrast, historian Max Krochmal contends that in the mid-1960s "African American, Mexican American, and white labor and community activists" cooperated in a common civil rights struggle in Texas. This article provides another perspective regarding the question of interracial cooperation. It finds no significant evidence in the Diocese of Galveston-Houston of a common struggle for Catholic desegregation among the different groups subject to separation and subordination in Catholic institutions. Divided by color, culture, and language, ethnic Mexican, Creoles of color, and black Catholics did not make common cause against segregation and discrimination in the Catholic Church.[5]

In the 1940s and 1950s, Mexicans and Tejanos, and Creoles of color and blacks, largely went to distinct Catholic churches and missions in the Diocese of Galveston as they had done for many years. Most Mexicans and Mexican Americans belonged to Mexican national parishes organized for Spanish speakers, and Creoles of color and blacks attended special parishes, which, like national parishes, did not have the territorial boundaries of white American Catholic parishes. Whereas white American parishes were generally served by diocesan priests, the diocese regarded Mexicans, Creoles of color, and blacks as people who were materially and spiritually poor and in need of missionary priests. Consequently, it invited priests from different

missionary religious orders to serve national and special parishes. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Basilian Fathers provided mostly Spanish-speaking priests for Mexican national parishes, and the Society of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart (Josephites), an almost entirely white American order of priests dedicated to serving African American parishes, staffed many of the black and Creole of color parishes. Different orders of nuns also worked in Mexican national parishes and special parishes. The Sisters of Divine Providence of San Antonio served in Mexican national parishes, augmented by a group of young Mexican American women from Our Lady of Guadalupe parish that one of the sisters organized as the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence. The Sisters of the Holy Family, a Creole of color and black order based in New Orleans, taught at many of the schools attached to black and Creole of color churches, and white orders of sisters taught in the remainder. The fact that these schools included both black and Creole of color students and were not segregated is evidence of the fluidity of color lines. Creoles of color and blacks also attended the same public schools as segregation laws regarded them all as black.[6]

There were also important differences in how the Diocese of Galveston regarded Mexican and Mexican Americans on the one hand and Creoles of color and blacks on the other. Treviño explains that ethnic Mexicans in Houston shared a distinctive "ethno-Catholicism" that developed from a blend of pre-Reformation Spanish and Mexican Indian influences that shaped their "Catholic identity and way of life." To facilitate their eventual assimilation into American life and American Catholicism, the diocese, adopting a model used by northern dioceses in the nineteenth century for Catholics immigrants from different European countries, established language-based national parishes for Mexican immigrants. Eventually as they assimilated, became prosperous, and moved away from the barrios, they would join white American Catholic

churches. Unlike ethnic Mexicans, the Diocese of Galveston did not assign Creoles of color and blacks to national parishes but to special parishes that implied a permanent condition of separation.[7]

To some extent Mexican American assimilation began to happen in the 1940s and 1950s, so that by the early 1960s some formerly Anglo Catholic churches became mixed Anglo and Mexican American or almost entirely Mexican American when Anglos who were not amenable to integration moved away. Insofar as national parishes did not regard linguistic and cultural differences grounded in nationality and ethnicity as insurmountable obstacles to assimilation and equal treatment with whites, they were not altogether at odds with the Mexican American civil rights movement, which mostly argued in the mid-twentieth century that Mexicans Americans were not Anglo and had their own culture, but were nevertheless white and as such should not be subject to segregation and discrimination. Formed in 1929, the League of United Latin American Citizens, Behnken explains, became "the most prominent Mexican American civic group." It "focused on the civic betterment of Mexican Americans, promoted cultural pluralism while simultaneously encouraging assimilation into American society, and railed against segregated Mexican schooling and educational inequalities." By mid-century, the diocese increasingly recognized differences between and among Mexican Americans, who were becoming more bicultural and differentiated by class, and Mexican immigrants. However, further Mexican immigration and Tejano migration from rural Texas after World War II ensured that the diocese continued, and created additional, national parishes and missions staffed by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Basilian Fathers. Some Mexican Americans still attended national parishes after they moved away from the barrios because they valued the churches that had nurtured and sustained them and informed their identity.[8]

Although the Church's episcopal polity gave prelates the authority to desegregate Catholic institutions, bishops often experienced conflicting pressures that shaped, and often constrained, the exercise of that authority. On the one hand, Catholic teachings disseminated from Rome, seminaries, and the American Catholic hierarchy increasingly opposed racial discrimination implicitly and explicitly. On the other hand, a fear of reviving Southeast Texas's latent anti-Catholicism among the white Protestant segregationist majority and generating opposition from white Catholics, most of whom favored segregation, shaped the ways in which bishops approached Catholic and secular desegregation. At the same time, bishops sought to respond positively to what they considered, in view of Catholic teachings, to be the just demands of the African American civil rights movement, and, committed to the rule of law, they adapted to, and sometimes urged, federal action that increasingly made segregation, once the law and a social norm in Texas, illegal.

Bishop Wendelin J. Nold, who effectively ran the diocese between 1947 and 1963, adopted a cautious, gradualist approach to desegregation in the 1950s and early 1960s, when he sought to make inroads against segregation first in Catholic churches in 1953 and then in Catholic schools in the early 1960s. Despite his reticence, he also began parochial school desegregation before any of Louisiana's Catholic dioceses. Fearful of white segregationist opposition within and outside the church, Nold did so largely by tying Catholic school desegregation to gradual federal court ordered public school desegregation and by limiting the admission of African American students to formerly white schools to Catholics only. His policy both checked the extent of desegregation and prevented the development of significant white opposition within and outside the Catholic Church.

Appointed coadjutor bishop in 1963 to run the diocese because of Nold's declining health, John L. Morkovsky desegregated Catholic institutions more rapidly and extensively and in a more conducive environment for change because of the ascendancy of the civil rights movement, the federal civil rights bill that outlawed segregated public accommodations in 1964 under pressure from the movement, and more forthright and frequent condemnations of racism by the Vatican and American Catholic leaders. Morkovsky, like a cohort of young white Anglo native Texan diocesan priests, was sympathetic to the civil rights movement and receptive to condemnations of racism by the Pope John XXIII, the Second Vatican Council, and the American Catholic hierarchy. In some cases, this cadre, like Morkovsky, participated in ecumenical and secular, as well as Catholic, efforts to bring about racial change.

However, these efforts and the lifting of diocesan segregation did not result in significant integration. Urban white lay Catholics in the diocese, like many other whites in Southeast Texas and U.S. cities, largely responded to African American urban migration and desegregation by relocating. White flight maintained de facto residential segregation. In formulating desegregation policies, the diocese's leaders did not consult Creoles of color and black Catholics about their aspirations and concerns. Although they opposed discrimination in the church, many also wanted to retain the churches that had nurtured them and, by the 1980s, influenced by the legacy of Black Power and the Second Vatican's liturgical reforms, had increasingly incorporated black culture into the liturgy. As in other parts of the South and the nation, many black and white Catholics remained separate from one another, at least outside the workplace. In the postwar decades, Creoles of color, especially those of the second and third generation in the diocese, had become increasingly acculturated, mixing their culture with that of blacks in their neighborhoods and likewise influencing their black neighbors. Creoles of color increasingly spoke English and

pronounced their French last names in an American manner or anglicized their names. Blacks and Creoles also intermarried and raised families together. After the end of racial segregation in public accommodations mandated by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the emergence of Black Power, which celebrated black pride and achievement, in the second half of the 1960s, Creoles of color increasingly identified themselves as both Creole and black and no longer saw those terms as in opposition, as earlier generations had once done. These developments could not have been foreseen as World War II drew to a close.[9]

In 1945, the Diocese of Galveston stretched across Southeast Texas and included Austin, Houston, and Beaumont. Catholics numbered 239,042 people, or 12.7 percent of the diocese's total population in a region with an engrained anti-Catholicism that had helped fuel the growth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Although many African Americans were also hostile to Catholicism, the region's urban centers had a growing black Catholic population as migrants arrived from southern Louisiana, attracted by wartime employment opportunities and the expanding petrochemical industry. In 1945, the Josephites counted 11,869 black and Creole of color Catholics in the special parishes it administered in the diocese; twenty years later that population had increased more than five times. Like Jim Crow laws, the Josephites' figures did not distinguish between blacks and Creoles of color and categorized them all as "Negroes" or "colored" people. Despite being dedicated to serving in African American parishes, the Josephites' own racism, paternalism, and condescension meant that they only ordained a single black priest in the 1940s, the light-skinned Charles Chester E. L. Ball, and assigned him initially to Wilmington, Delaware. Nevertheless, despite such colorism, the Josephites did not instigate separate Creole of color parishes in the diocese. Rather, lay Creoles of color initiated them and their ushers decided whether to segregate blacks within them.[10]

In 1946, the diocese operated twelve parishes, seven missions, and nine elementary and four high schools for "Negroes," meaning Creoles of color and blacks. The largest such parishes in Houston were St. Nicholas, with 3,000 members, and Our Mother of Mercy with 800 parishioners. Many of the black children enrolled in parochial schools were not Catholics. The church admitted such students as both an educational service and as a means of evangelizing them and their parents. If they went to predominantly white churches, Marian Lyman, an African American from Houston, recalled, "We were given the back pews. If one white person sat on that pew, we had to stand." The diocese operated separate hospitals for "Negroes." It opened Holy Cross Hospital in Austin in 1940 and St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Houston in 1947, the same year construction began on a third hospital in Beaumont.[11]

In 1947, the Vatican appointed Wendelin J. Nold coadjutor bishop with the right of succession to the elderly Christopher E. Byrne, a Missourian who had served as the Diocese of Galveston's bishop since 1918 and presided over the growth of the diocese's segregated institutions. Born in Bonham, Texas, in 1900, Nold had studied at St. Mary's Seminary in La Porte, Texas, and at the North American College in Rome before his ordination in 1925 for the Diocese of Dallas, where he served until his appointment to Galveston. As coadjutor and then bishop after Byrne's death in 1950, Nold continued Byrne's policy of building separate churches and schools in response to continuing black Catholic migration from Louisiana, Mexican immigration, and white migration from rural Texas and the North.[12]

Although Nold had been reared in a segregated society, his expansion of Catholic facilities for African Americans was motivated by pragmatism, rather than a commitment to segregation. He knew that most white Catholics and Protestants in Southeast Texas supported segregation, and he wanted to reach African Americans where they resided. The Vatican would

not have appointed him bishop had he expressed segregationist views. On instructions from Rome, the apostolic delegate to the United States had begun to screen priests under consideration for southern episcopal appointments to favor those sympathetic to integration. At the same time, in order to spread the faith, the Holy See continued to permit bishops to maintain and increase churches and missions for African Americans.[13]

Nold's appointment occurred against a background of increasing Vatican repudiations of racial superiority. In the 1930s, the papacy had responded to Italian fascism and Nazi Germany's racial policies by condemning racism. In June 1943, Pope Pius XII issued an encyclical that endorsed the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ, which held that "all men of every race are united to Christ in the bond of brotherhood" and Christ's Mystical Body united all in "one Body" without distinction. The American Catholic hierarchy also began to address racism collectively. At their annual meeting in 1943, the American Catholic bishops called for African Americans to be given their constitutional rights and "fair economic and educational opportunities." The statement did not address racial segregation and discrimination in the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, Mystical Body teachings increasingly permeated the upper echelons of the American Catholic hierarchy and Catholic seminaries that trained the next generation of priests.[14]

In March 1953, Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans issued a pastoral letter in which he cited "the same membership in the Mystical Body of Christ" as justification for mandating "no further discrimination or segregation in the pews, at the Communion rail, at the confessional and in parish meetings, just as there will be no segregation in the kingdom of heaven." Though Rummel's instruction applied only to his archdiocese, as the prelate of the most prestigious Catholic office in the South and the head of the Province of New Orleans, which

encompassed the entire state of Louisiana, his letter was widely reported in the Catholic press beyond Louisiana.[15]

Although there is no evidence of a causal link, Rummel's action may well have influenced Nold to act when he learned in its aftermath that "in more than one church in the Diocese a practice is made of setting aside certain pews in the rear of the church for the use of the Colored who may happen to be present." After three years as the diocese's sole bishop following Byrne's death, Nold may also have felt sufficiently established to address such a sensitive issue. Characterizing segregation in churches as "most reprehensible," in August 1953 Nold ordered his pastors to ensure that African Americans were not allocated segregated seating in church. "The time is rapidly passing," he wrote, "when we can tolerate in the House of God un-Christian attitudes toward our Colored brethren."[16]

However, Nold feared that an announcement would stimulate opposition, telling his pastors "I am well aware of local prejudices and practices in this very delicate matter." In an effort to prevent the formation of lay resistance, he insisted that his pastors keep his directive "confidential" and ensure that "No comment is to be made to anybody regarding it." Unwilling to risk becoming a target for opposition, Nold mandated that "the ushers are to be instructed in the matter without naming the Bishop." He did not attempt to teach the laity, and the ushers who enforced it, why segregation was wrong. Nold's order also had little effect because he did not police its application.[17]

Nold's caution and wish to avoid segregationist opposition by taking a lone public stand was also evident when in May 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court declared public school segregation unconstitutional in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. The bishop made no public comment and took no action against parochial school segregation. His caution seemed justified when Archbishop

Rummel's announcement in 1955 that parochial school desegregation would not begin in his archdiocese before September 1956 ignited widespread opposition among white Catholics who feared that desegregation was imminent. Such was the level of opposition that an increasingly ill and frail Rummel postponed the beginning of parochial school desegregation until 1962, two years after token public school desegregation began in the city of New Orleans.[18]

Unwilling to speak or act publicly against segregation in isolation, Nold was, however, willing to work in concert with others. Ecumenical cooperation in the form of a collective public statement offered clergymen the prospect of diffusing segregationist opposition and reducing or forestalling opprobrium for individual signatories. Consequently, in February 1958 Nold, Episcopal Bishop John E. Hines, Methodist Bishop A. Frank Smith, and 170 Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergy in Houston signed a statement that called on "God-fearing citizens" to obey *Brown* and warned that defiance would encourage "dangerous elements in our society." Several months later, at their annual meeting in November, which Nold attended, the U.S. Catholic bishops condemned segregation for the first time, but they also called for gradual change and cautioned against "rash impetuosity."[19]

Nold also took a gradualist approach. Although he had called for acceptance of secular change, he remained unwilling to act in advance of it, and he made public school desegregation a prerequisite for parochial school desegregation. Monsignor Vincent M. Harris, the diocese's chancellor, claimed in 1961 that "the Bishop had mentioned in passing several times over a period of years that we would be no later than the public schools in desegregating." Indeed, this was Nold's "stock answer to Negro groups who began to inquire about the matter."[20]

However, the diocese quietly involved itself in secular change and eventually acted under its influence. In 1960, the sit-in movement for lunch-counter desegregation spread from

Greensboro, North Carolina, to Texas. After some protests, lunch counters in the city of Galveston quickly desegregated without incident, following negotiations between store managers, civic and business leaders, and “Galveston leaders of all religious faiths,” including Catholics. A joint statement by Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders announced the settlement.[21]

Nold also responded to the start of public school desegregation in his diocese when in September 1960 a federal court ordered Houston to begin grade-a-year public school desegregation. Simultaneously, and without publicity, the diocese desegregated some grades of St. Mary of the Purification School in Houston, which was situated in a white parish in the Third Ward that was “rapidly becoming colored.” Harris reported that "only a handful of colored children enrolled.” He noted that “there was no difficulty” because of the small number of African American children and many hard-line white segregationists had already moved elsewhere. While the school desegregated without incident, the diocese, which had not solicited the views of African American Catholics, learned “that such partial desegregation” created practical problems for the parents of black children since “a mother of a first grader and a fourth grader would have to take her children to two parochial schools, or else choose to take both to the Colored school.” Nold announced a school desegregation policy in April 1961 that would affect a range of grades.[22]

That month, the bishop ordered all elementary grades at Catholic schools in Harris and Galveston Counties, which included the cities of Houston and Galveston, to admit “all qualified Catholic children regardless of color” in September. Responding to secular change, Nold acted after a federal court ordered the city of Galveston to begin a grade-a-year public school desegregation plan in the fall. By restricting the admission of African Americans to white

parochial schools to Catholic students only, Nold ensured that school desegregation would be very limited, because many black students who attended Catholic schools were not Catholics. In a confidential letter to Catholic pastors in the two counties, Nold warned that "any act or attempt on the part of any priest tending directly or indirectly to infringe, disregard or circumvent this directive will be construed as a serious act of disobedience, for which penalties will be exacted according to the norms of Canon Law."[23]

Nold justified limiting Catholic school desegregation to elementary grades in only two counties by arguing that "the sentiment of the people at large is preponderantly opposed to integration" especially "on the high-school and college levels" and "there is only a token integration in the public schools." He advised his pastors that in the diocese "desegregation of the Catholic schools everywhere and on all levels will come no later than in the public schools." Nold admitted that "this is a compromise decision" and advised priests that "extremists of both races" would inevitably object.[24]

Nold also sought to reassure his pastors. He conceded that parochial school desegregation might create "problems of adjustment, cause financial difficulties, or give excuse for vigorous protests," but he regarded such as "the inevitable concomitants of any change of deep-grained social prejudices and hoary traditions" for which the "only remedy" was "time and patience and contrary usage." The bishop informed his pastors that "it need not be anticipated that the white schools will be deluged by an influx of Colored" because of the distance of some white schools from black population areas, the limited capacity of some white schools to absorb more students, and the higher tuition costs charged by white Catholic schools, which would be beyond the reach of African Americans with lower incomes. Nold affirmed that "it is a right that the Colored are seeking, which is now being granted to them, rather than the wholesale use of that right, that

most white schools will have to reckon with." He also explained that "this policy does not intend to abolish or to disturb any existing or future colored schools or parishes," which would continue not for the purposes of segregating "the colored Catholics, but to serve them . . . so long as they are needed."[25]

The bishop's fear of white Catholic and Protestant opposition to desegregation, then, led him to adopt a policy of token, gradual desegregation linked to public school desegregation. Despite his recognition of the injustice of segregation, Nold allowed it to continue beyond the elementary level in Catholic schools. Nevertheless, in deciding to desegregate elementary Catholic schools in Harris and Galveston Counties across all grades, the bishop had been bolder than the courts, although acting after they had issued their decisions.

Nold's concerns were apparent in a pastoral letter read at all Catholic masses in the diocese in April 1961. The bishop indicated that he was desegregating Catholic schools chiefly in response to public school desegregation, and he sought primarily to reassure white Catholics. By mentioning that many Catholic elementary schools were already overcrowded, Nold implied that their racial composition would be little affected by lifting segregation restrictions, which could not be "invoked as guaranteeing to any child of either race a placement or a right to a placement in any given school where facilities are insufficient to meet the demand." Nold did not offer African American Catholic parents any assurances about how white schools would treat their children and only at the end of his message did he invoke a religious justification for his action. He appealed to Catholics to accept his decision "as loyal Americans and true Christians, remembering their common origin as sons of the one Heavenly Father and mindful of the kinship they share through their Elder Brother, Jesus Christ, Who, dying, said to all His brethren, 'A new commandment I give you, that you love one another.'"[26]

Chancellor Harris informed Henry Cabirac Jr., executive director of the Archdiocese of New Orleans's Catholic Council on Human Relations, that "we expected quite a lot of static after this letter was read, but to our surprise there have been absolutely no complaints - only a couple of letters praising the Bishop for taking such action." Harris noted that "we simply took the bull by the horns and had the letter read from the pulpit, without preparing the people in any way," and prior to issuing the pastoral letter Nold had merely informed the pastors affected of "what he was doing and why."[27]

Harris attributed lack of opposition to a sense of inevitability and resignation because of Nold's previous indications that the diocese would desegregate parochial schools when public schools desegregated. The chancellor acknowledged that the diocese, like the courts, had not yet ordered desegregation in Beaumont and Port Arthur, where "the feeling is much stronger, and where there have been race riots in rather recent years," or in high schools, which would arouse segregationist fears of interracial dating. Harris also noted that continued, quiet inclusion of African Americans in parish and diocesan societies, such as the Legion of Mary, might have helped still opposition to desegregation. Some concerned white Catholic parents were also reassured by the diocese's belief that not many African American children would enroll in formerly white schools. In an approach that typified the diocese's philosophy on desegregation, Harris did not consider, or try to ascertain, the views of African American Catholics.[28]

As Harris had anticipated, the diocese's limited school desegregation occurred peacefully in September 1961 and "did not bring on a flood of Negro children to the previously all-white schools." Black children attended previously all-white Catholic schools located near their homes, but enrollments had remained small because of de facto residential segregation. In Galveston, a few black children entered two of the city's three white Catholic elementary schools. In Houston,

eleven black children enrolled in two formerly white Catholic elementary schools, and ninety-four in two schools located in parishes that were becoming increasingly black. Harris noted that elementary parochial school desegregation would have a ripple effect since "while we have not explicitly integrated parishes . . . we understand that parents who have children in a school will begin to take part in parish affairs, beginning with the mothers' clubs, etc." He reported that "one ticklish problem was the first meeting of the Mothers' Club, but the colored mothers came and were careful to keep quiet. At least one pastor had arranged for a couple of outstanding and highly respected white ladies to welcome the Negroes and sit near them. There was no trouble." Harris's relief that African American mothers were quiet demonstrated that he was concerned principally with how whites felt about desegregation, not African Americans. He did not question whether the black mothers' reticence might have suggested discomfort and whether they had actually felt welcome.[29]

Notwithstanding some desegregation of parish and diocesan societies, segregation continued to predominate among Catholics elsewhere in the diocese and in most of the diocese's institutions. School segregation remained in place in Catholic high schools, and in all of the diocese's schools outside of Harris and Galveston Counties. Catholic hospitals, youth programs, and athletic contests also remained segregated. St. Mary's in Houston remained the diocese's only example of a genuinely integrated parish since, as parishioner Vincent D. Williams noted, it had "arrived at full integration of all church activities, societies, and the school."[30]

Nold might have extended Catholic desegregation further in the early 1960s, but he suffered increasing health problems, endured several operations, and became blind. Consequently, in April 1963, the Vatican appointed John L. Morkovsky as Nold's coadjutor bishop, with the right of succession, to run the diocese's administrative affairs, with Nold

retaining oversight of civic trusts. Born in Praha, which lay fifty miles southeast of Austin, Texas, in 1909, Morkovsky had spent his entire life in the state, except for study at the North American College in Rome. He had served as superintendent of the desegregated Catholic school system in the Archdiocese of San Antonio, and auxiliary bishop and bishop of the Diocese of Amarillo.[31]

Morkovsky's appointment ensured renewed and more widespread attention to the desegregation of the diocese's institutions. While he was less circumspect than Nold, Morkovsky also became bishop under circumstances that were more conducive to racial change. In April 1963, Pope John XXIII stated in the encyclical *Pacem in Terres* (Peace on Earth) that "racial discrimination can in no way be justified" and those denied their rights had a duty to claim them. Civil rights protests peaked in 1963 and America's first Catholic president, John F. Kennedy, proposed a civil rights bill to Congress that would desegregate public accommodations. At its deliberations in Rome, the Second Vatican Council, a meeting of the Church's worldwide hierarchy, declared in *De Ecclesia* the Constitution on the Church, that "there is … in Christ and in the Church no inequality on the basis of *race* or nationality, social condition or sex."[32]

Eager to improve race relations and to eliminate segregation, Morkovsky desegregated all of the diocese's hospitals at the beginning of August 1963. Harris explained to Cabirac that "there has been no formal order, but word was put out by word of mouth, continuing our quiet method which has been so successful up to now." Morkovsky similarly desegregated all of the diocese's schools in September. Harris noted, "There has been no trouble, thank God." Public schools in Houston, Galveston, and Beaumont, which began grade-a-year desegregation that month, continued to implement gradual desegregation policies.[33]

Morkovsky also expressed support for the civil rights movement. He praised Catholic Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington, D.C., for supporting the March on Washington in August 1963 and speaking from the platform. Morkovsky wrote to O'Boyle, “The movement for civil rights is a just cause and it is well for us to make it our own.” In September, Morkovsky joined nine other religious leaders and four prominent laymen in establishing an interracial and interfaith committee in Houston known as the Committee of Fourteen, designed to promote racial amity. Morkovsky also met with black leaders and white religious leaders of different faiths at the diocese’s chancery.[34]

A group of dynamic young diocesan priests, all of them Texans, shared Morkovsky’s commitment to racial justice and, with limited success, made extensive efforts to persuade white laity to accept racial desegregation. One of them, John E. McCarthy, a Houston native born in 1930 and assistant pastor of the city's All Saints Church, served as Morkovsky’s delegate on the Committee of Fourteen. McCarthy discussed with another young Catholic priest, Joseph A. Fiorenza, the idea of creating a diocesan community relations committee, composed of priests and laity. Fiorenza, born in Beaumont in 1931, was assistant pastor of Houston's Sacred Heart Cathedral. Morkovsky approved the idea of establishing the committee and attended its first meeting, arranged by McCarthy and Fiorenza, in April 1964. Renamed the Catholic Council on Community Relations (CCCR) of the Diocese of Galveston-Houston with McCarthy as chairman and Fiorenza as director for the Houston area, the council established committees for Spanish-speaking people, church and labor, ecumenicalism, and race relations. Vincent M. Rizzotto of St. Mary of the Purification Church in Houston, and a native of the city born in 1931, served as chairman of the race relations committee, an apt choice since he, like McCarthy, was also a member of the Houston Council on Human Relations (HCHR).[35]

McCarthy explained that “the [Catholic] council will study many local problems, not with the desire of offering technical solutions, but rather to point out in concrete situations the moral values that may be involved.” He emphasized the need for lay involvement and stressed that the council's priests “will work closely with trained and dedicated laymen.” While McCarthy and Morkovsky wanted as many priests and lay people to join the council as possible, it remained dominated by clergy, indicating a lack of lay support.[36]

Jack Sisson, director of the Southern Field Service of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (NCCIJ), an unofficial group that sought to promote desegregation by working with bishops and Catholic interracial councils, visited the diocese. He observed “the clergy of the diocese, about 200 strong, is almost entirely native Texan. While many of the older priests have no feeling for race relations, there are about 50 or 60 of the younger priests who are really up with the times and now with Morkovsky have been given almost carte blanche.”[37]

These progressive priests were not confined to Houston. Even before the creation of the CCCR, all the clergymen in Beaumont, “under the leadership of several priests,” signed a statement, published in the local newspaper, advocating passage of the civil rights bill under consideration by the U.S. Congress that would outlaw segregated public accommodations. Charles W. Ternes, the Catholic pastor of Beaumont’s St. Anthony's Church, told the NCCIJ in April 1964, “I've been working for a year and a half now with an interracial group of priests, ministers, and a rabbi. Two Josephites and myself have be[en] representing the Catholic community. The group has done a great deal in helping to bring about” partial desegregation of public accommodations.[38]

Ternes also helped to organize an interfaith, interracial one-day conference in Beaumont on religion and race, hosted by St. Mark's Episcopal Church on May 16, 1964. One hundred and

fifty clergy and laity from forty-five congregations attended the conference, which had three black and three white speakers. Ternes reported, “There was a genuine enthusiasm and desire to do something that was felt by nearly all the participants as the day went on. At the closing general session, a permanent committee on religion and race was chosen to keep up the work of the conference.” Despite “some opposition,” the conference also decided to send letters supporting the civil rights bill to President Lyndon B. Johnson, Senate Majority Whip Hubert Humphrey, Senate Minority leader Everitt Dirksen, and Texas senators Ralph Yarborough and John G. Tower.[39]

However, Houston remained the center of progressive Catholic clergy activities in Southeast Texas. In late May, several Catholic priests, including Fiorenza and Father Emile J. Farge, the assistant pastor of St. Michael's Church, were among sixty people who participated in the two-day Houston Conference on Religion and Race, held at First Methodist Church under the HCHR's sponsorship. In a call to action, Father James McHatton of Holy Rosary Church told the attendees that “churches must get the ear of Negro leaders as well as whites and lay out a reasonable program” and he lamented that “leaders have not taken a strong enough position” on racial equality.[40]

Despite such criticism, the Diocese of Galveston-Houston and many of its priests had already begun to take a stronger stance on civil rights. In May 1964, Morkovsky founded and served as president of a diocesan newspaper, the *Texas Catholic Herald*. Its first editorial page strongly endorsed the HCHR and accorded it “a large share of the credit for peaceful desegregation of parks, restaurants and theaters in Houston.” Two weeks later, the paper unsuccessfully called on Houston Mayor Louie Welch and the city council to appoint a biracial commission and enact an ordinance to desegregate public accommodations.[41]

Toward the end of May, Morkovsky wrote to Senator Tower, who opposed the civil rights bill in the belief that it would unconstitutionally increase federal government power, informing him that "I believe that it is time for the passage of strong civil rights legislation. What little progress has been made in this matter in recent years can be attributed only to the leadership and example which has come from the Federal government." Morkovsky also wrote to Senator Yarborough, who broadly supported the civil rights bill but with some amendments that would weaken it, that "I hope that you will continue to work for the passage of as strong a Civil Rights Bill as is possible at this time."[42]

In the same month, Nold, Morkovsky, and two hundred Catholic priests, nearly every priest in the diocese, signed a statement, "Commitment to Racial Justice," written by Rizzoto. The statement claimed that in 1943, 1958, and 1963 the U.S. Catholic bishops had issued statements condemning segregation and racial discrimination. Furthermore, the signatories noted that Pope John XXIII had denounced racial discrimination in *Pacem in Terres*. Consequently, the Galveston-Houston ministers called for civil rights legislation and urged "letters [to] be written to our U.S. Senators asking their support of the Civil Rights Bill . . . without weakening its present form."[43]

There was also some lay support for desegregation despite opposition among many Catholics and much of the wider community. Two Catholic laymen were among the leaders of a neighborhood group in Houston's Riverside Terrace district that sought to stem white flight as African Americans moved into the area. However, the effort was short-lived and had little effect. In the first six months of 1964, five blacks joined the Catholic Young Adults Club of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. Although the church had once segregated Creoles of color, the club founded in the 1960s did not have a segregation policy, and it accepted blacks when they sought

membership. Some public facilities, such as a skating rink, refused to admit the club after it gained black members, although the club usually checked venues' policies ahead of time and did not purposely seek to challenge secular desegregation. This instance of black and ethnic Mexican lay Catholic integration seems to have been exceptional in the diocese.[44]

Lay Catholic divisions about desegregation and the civil rights movement were evident in readers' responses to the *Texas Catholic Herald*, which welcomed enactment of the federal Civil Rights Act in July 1964 and called for "an attitude of calmness and responsibility" while also expressing concerns about civil rights protests. The paper's editorial asserted that "it is a shameful blot on the history of this country that Negro Americans have had to protest for rights that should have been theirs in the beginning," and it praised African Americans' "heroic restraint" in seeking them. The paper favored the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)'s pursuit of equal rights through the courts, rather than direct action protests: "We think the Negro should continue his fight for equality through legal means. We do not think Negro leaders should seek to create 'incidents.'" Ignoring the fact that civil rights demonstrations had helped create pressure for enactment of civil rights legislation, the *Herald* declared that "equal rights for all citizens will not be attained by coercion but by a gradual changing of the consciences and minds of individual citizens," and it urged religious leaders to help change racial attitudes.[45]

Some readers criticized the *Herald's* support for civil rights. In response, the paper declared "we are solidly behind the Civil Rights Law - as we have stated EDITORIALLY more than once - no matter who is against it." The editors also launched a letters page so that readers could express themselves in public. Though unable to publish every letter it received, the paper published a similar number of letters in support and opposition to the Civil Rights Act, the civil

rights movement, and the editors' repeated call for a Houston biracial committee. However, the *Herald* did not indicate whether the letters reflected the balance of opinion on these subjects from those received.[46]

While supportive of the *Herald's* editorial stance, Mrs. Paul C. Bernard of West Orange wrote that she was "afraid" to "do something in regards to racial justice." Another white reader argued that the Civil Rights Law had been necessary to ensure equal rights that some states denied. The anonymous reader also wrote, "identifying with a moral cause requires more courage than I have" before requesting anonymity for fear of being bombed or shot.[47]

Critics of African American civil rights did not express fear of retribution, likely indicating greater support for their views among both Catholics and the broader community. Matthew H. Talty III, president of the Young Republicans at St. Mary's University, a Catholic institution in San Antonio, equated civil rights with Communism. He maintained that "the present Civil Rights Bill practices the same thing that Karl Marx taught," although he did not explain what that was. Talty concluded his letter by stating "unlike the spin[e]less pinkos, I intend to sign my name."[48]

Conscious that many of the white laity remained unreconciled to desegregation, Morkovsky and progressive Catholic clergy continued their efforts. In an attempt to educate Catholics on the Church's teachings about race relations, social justice, and the "obligation of fraternal love," Morkovsky proclaimed August 30, 1964, Social Justice Sunday. In his message, the bishop reminded Catholics that Jesus had taught that "Thou shall love thy neighbors as thyself" (Matthew 19:19; Mark 12:31) and the Apostle St. John had declared "if anyone says 'I love God' and hates his brother, he is a liar" (1 John 4:20). Morkovsky quoted Pope John XXIII's admonition in *Pacem in Terris* that "a well-ordered human society requires that men

recognize and observe their mutual rights and duties," and the declaration of U.S. bishops in 1958 that "discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color . . . cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity."[49]

Farge and Rizzotto helped organize Social Justice Sunday, and they ensured that every priest in the diocese received a suggested sermon to preach that day. Afterwards, Rizzotto wrote "The Social Justice Sunday was a marvelous success. . . . For the first time in the history of the Diocese, there was a sermon preached at every Mass in every parish concerning the obligations of the Christian in the field of social justice and particularly with regard to interracial justice. There were many comments made by people to the effect that finally the Church has spoken."[50]

Rizzotto's race relations committee also sponsored social justice seminars on the evening of August 30 at four parish halls in Houston that attracted 1,100 people from fifty-three parishes. He explained that each "seminar was conducted by a priest speaker who spoke on the obligations of fraternal love and charity, and then the panelists spoke concerning the present situation in Houston with reference to housing, education, job opportunities, public accommodations, and the like. The panel was composed of two couples - one Negro, one white. The response was really gratifying."[51]

To follow-up on the event and to offset the lack of lay involvement in the CCCR, in October 1964 Rizzotto, along with interested lay people, formed the Houston Catholic Interracial Committee (HCIC). Co-chaired by laymen Dr. Edward J. Eugere, an African American and dean of Texas Southern University's pharmacy school, and by Dr. Francis S. Yeager, who was white and an associate professor of economics and finance at the University of Houston, the steering committee was initially comprised of three African American and three white couples, and Father John F. Murphy, president of the University of St. Thomas. Farge and Rizzotto served as

the committee's spiritual directors. The committee sought to promote interracial justice within Houston's Catholic community. In one of the committee's first activities, one hundred members of St. Mary of the Purification Church, by then composed almost entirely of African American parishioners, attended Mass at St. Cecelia, a white church, and between fifty and seventy-five St. Cecelia members went to Mass at St. Mary's.[52]

Because Rizzotto led the CCCR's race relations committee and advised the HCIC, their activities inevitably intersected, a development accentuated by the often Houston-centered focus of the CCCR's endeavors. Rizzotto admitted to Sisson that the CCCR found "it rather difficult to coordinate the activities that take place in Houston with those that should take place in the other areas [of the diocese]." Rizzotto reported to the CCCR in November 1964 that "about 30 or 40 couples meet socially from time to time, white and colored. What is hoped is that from this small success at visitation, there will come a Diocesan Home Visitation Day." At its December meeting the HCIC also discussed the idea of a home visitation program, and soon the HCIC effectively displaced the CCCR's race relations committee.[53]

In a tacit acknowledgement of how few whites knew or understood African Americans and interacted with them as equals, in January 1965 the HCIC organized a pilot home visitation program in which white couples visited the homes of African American couples in the city in an effort to promote mutual understanding and undermine racial prejudice. In all, fifty-four couples participated; of these, 72 percent replied to a survey asking about their experiences. The HCIC concluded from the survey that the program "had in general met with success and had pointed out some of the problems inherent in such a program - one being the reluctance on the part of some white couples to participate in the program."[54]

The survey also revealed the depth and complexity of racial problems and the difficulties

involved in trying to resolve them. One white couple commented, “We were amazed at the experiences of the negroes in encountering prejudice in Church and Church organizations,” suggesting that for all the diocese’s efforts in eliminating discrimination, much still needed to be done. One couple shrewdly observed that “the ones who really need this program will not want to participate.” White reluctance to become involved was not necessarily a result of personal prejudice but sometimes, as program discussions revealed, a consequence of fear of “prejudice against whites because of their association with negroes.” The program brought white couples to African American homes in part to protect white participants from possible hostility from their own neighbors if blacks visited. Equally important, few whites had previously been in black homes and many had not previously met African Americans as equals, whereas blacks, as maids or service personnel, had more often been in white homes and were acquainted with the lifestyles of whites. Even so, the one-sided nature of the visits worked against mutuality and in that respect undermined the goal of equality. Sensitive to the problem, one respondent commented “do not make this a one-way street - let the negroes visit in the white homes.”[55]

Encouraged by the pilot program, the HCIC sponsored a city-wide home visitation program in March 1965 in which 468 people participated, a very small number in proportion to the white and African American Catholic population of the city. Whites from twenty-two parishes visited the homes of African American couples in seven Houston parishes. The responses of white participants mirrored those in the earlier program, suggesting that to some extent it achieved its educative purpose. One white participant commented, “I just didn't realize some of the problems Negroes face, especially in trying to ‘explain’ discrimination to their children.” Perhaps sharing the prejudiced belief that African Americans did not look after their homes, a surprised white visitor responded “they certainly have a beautiful home, and it’s really

well kept up." Another white visitor confessed, "I felt a little uneasy at first and was surprised at how soon that feeling disappeared. I'm going to have them over to visit us, no matter what the neighbors say." Some other white couples also invited their black hosts for a reciprocal home visit or to attend Mass with them.[56]

Nevertheless, the program was not entirely successful. Miles Woodward, co-chairman of the program, conceded that comments from participants had been "mixed" as some respondents said the visits had not addressed vital issues. Melvin Bergeron, the other co-chairman, claimed that "people participating in the program for the first time were enthusiastic about it" but participation would have been greater if "more people had been on the planning committee." The *Texas Catholic Herald* argued that the visitation day attracted those "already 'won over' to the importance of interracial cooperation" and attributed limited participation to the program's formal, organized nature and pastors who had either ignored the program or had given "it only the briefest mention from the pulpit." Although well-intentioned, the home visit program was too small and short-lived to make a significant impression on race relations in Houston and, as the *Herald* observed, it tended to attract those who were already sympathetic to its aims.[57]

Despite the indifference of some Catholic clergy to the program, a few diocesan priests became directly involved in the civil rights movement. In March 1965, they either participated in or supported civil rights demonstrations in Selma, Alabama, in which Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergy and laity, overwhelmingly from the North, joined Martin Luther King Jr., and other civil rights activists in protesting the denial of voting rights to African Americans. Farge was one of several clergymen from major denominations who spoke at an NAACP-sponsored rally of 1,200 people in Houston held in protest of the recent murders of Jimmie Jackson, a civil rights activist, and James Reeb, a Unitarian minister from Boston, in Alabama. Farge proclaimed

that “God is color-less” and urged all to say “in my house there is no color.” Rizzotto announced that he and some other Catholic priests were leaving for Selma “because we who are dedicated to Christian principles wish to give evidence of them in an external way and not only talk about them.”[58]

With Morkovsky's acquiescence, Rizzotto, McCarthy, Fiorenza, and W. Dayton Salisbury, a Josephite chaplain at Texas Southern University who hailed from Bar Harbor, Maine, went to Selma to attend a march and memorial service for Reeb led by King. Four thousand people participated, including clergy and religious brothers and sisters from across the U.S. Rizzotto commented in the *Texas Catholic Herald*, “I was extremely impressed by the spirit of love that motivated those who took part in the march, knowing that the bystanders had feelings of anger and hate towards them.” Salisbury explained that “the joy and happiness of taking part in the march overcame the fear.” McCarthy said that “the Catholic representation was really tremendous,” and he praised the absence of bitterness among black protesters. Fiorenza declared himself “deeply impressed by the real love the demonstrators have for those who injure them.” The four clergymen returned to Houston, but Father Maurice Farge, a history teacher at the University of St. Thomas, two of the university's students, and a Lutheran pastor drove to Selma to participate in the first few miles of the Selma to Montgomery March. Four other Catholic priests from the diocese, Ternes, Gerald Walker of La Marque, and William Pickard and John Sheehan, both of Houston, went to Montgomery.[59]

The *Texas Catholic Herald*, which had once urged Africans Americans to refrain from demonstrations, editorialized, “We think most of the demonstrators who are putting their bodies ‘on the line’ in Alabama and elsewhere are answering heroically the question: Who is my neighbor?” Although the editorial did not mention the Second Vatican Council, which had called

on the Church to become involved on the side of justice in the world, its words resonated with the council's message. Thus the *Herald* rejected "a stay-in-the-kitchen type of thinking that fails to recognize the importance of and the necessity for active religious protest against the blatant injustices of our time." Nevertheless, there was lay opposition to Catholic involvement in the Selma protests. J. E. Hollmann of Houston, for example, complained to the *Herald* that "the nuns and priests who took part in this march disgraced and have brought disrespect upon the entire Catholic Church."[60]

Like the *Herald*, the HCIC also found it had limited influence over the laity. In May 1965, Eugere and Yeager, the HCIC's co-chairmen, urged voters to reject a $59.8 million public school bond issue in Houston because the school board operated a dual public school system. The *Herald* praised the committee's action as in accord with the Second Vatican Council's call "to inculcate Christian social justice principles in every area of life." However, voters approved the bond issue by a vote of 53,898 to 20,253.[61]

A combination of white flight and continued African American urban migration meant that black and white Catholics still largely attended separate churches. Although Morkovsky continued to encourage and support integration, he considered it necessary to build St. Peter Claver Church for black migrants from Louisiana who lived in the Settegast area in north Houston in order to meet the religious needs of African American Catholics. The Josephites staffed the church. Morkovsky did not want to lose black Catholics by not providing them with churches in the areas in which they lived, even if that, in effect, perpetuated segregation.[62]

Seeking to promote desegregation and inclusiveness, while still serving Mexican American Catholics, beginning in 1964 Morkovsky turned some national parishes into territorial parishes, and he founded other new churches in Mexican American areas as territorial parishes.

Yet, he also retained Houston's first two national parishes, Our Lady of Guadalupe and Immaculate Heart of Mary, in that status, probably because they were the oldest national parishes in the city and the mother churches for many of its Mexican American Catholics. A national parish since 1936, Our Lady of Sorrows in northeast Houston also continued with that designation. Mexican American migration across Houston and concomitant white flight saw several white territorial parishes gain Mexican adherents. Although Mexican Americans and African Americans largely attended different churches, increasing numbers of blacks attend St. Raphael along with Tejanos, in southwest Houston, an area of the city that both populations were moving to.[63]

Despite the efforts of Morkovsky and progressive pastors to promote acceptance of desegregation in church and society, even some sympathetic members of the white laity lost interest in racial issues. In August 1965, Morkovsky proclaimed another Social Justice Sunday for the diocese, focused this time on work, especially racial discrimination in employment. Rizzotto and Farge organized panel discussions in six Houston parishes for the evening but these attracted only six hundred people, down by five hundred from the previous year.[64]

Morkovsky continued to balance supporting black parishes in African American residential areas with encouraging desegregation elsewhere. In 1965, for example, the diocese closed a black school, Blessed Sacrament High School, in Beaumont and transferred its students to Monsignor Kelly High School as a result of what the bishop described as "integration efforts in the diocese." In June 1966, the Vatican formed the new Diocese of Beaumont from 40 percent of the Diocese of Galveston-Houston, including Port Arthur and Orange. However, continued black Catholic migration from other states to the Diocese of Galveston-Houston partly offset the number of black Catholics lost to the new diocese.[65]

Hoping to generate support and avoid division, the bishop sought primarily to shape white Catholic opinion and behavior. In October 1966, the Diocese of Galveston-Houston sponsored a two-day clergy conference in Houston on "Human Rights and Religion," which focused solely on black issues and included black speakers. Ethnic Mexicans were not included. After prefacing his address with condemnations of racism made by the Second Vatican Council and by the U.S. bishops in 1958, Morkovsky declared that admissions and employment in diocesan institutions, organizations, and schools should be open to all qualified persons regardless of race. He also indicated that special parishes would remain but added that their members had the right to join territorial parishes. Although Morkovsky had only stated the diocese's operating policy, it was the first time he had done so publicly, and the very fact of the declaration implied that the policy had not been uniformly adopted. Indeed, Sisson had noted earlier that despite Morkovsky's support for integration, "it's against his method of operation to try to dictate what either priests or laymen do." Characteristically, the bishop did not create any means for enforcing the October declaration, although he tied its announcement to the third annual observance of Social Justice Sunday a few days later.[66]

Morkovsky and his progressive clergy's use of moral suasion was influential but often could not surmount indifference or hostility from some other pastors and many white Catholics. In January 1967, Morkovsky commented optimistically that "The Negro Catholic in this diocese is becoming more and more active, and effectively so, in diocesan and inter-parochial activities and organizations. We are particularly pleased with the degree of integration achieved without fanfare or difficulty." The bishop realized, however, that many white Catholics remained opposed to integration. Consequently, he supported another home visitation program in Houston in February 1967 and wrote to every Catholic pastor in the city requesting their full support for

the program, operated as before by the HCIC. Even so, Vincent Rachal, one of the organizers, noted resistance from some pastors. Furthermore, when in the second half of 1967 the HCIC organized a series of monthly forums on aspects of racial injustice, declining attendance brought them to a premature end.[67]

Although some Mexican Americans had joined formerly white churches after leaving the barrios, Morkovsky found some Mexicans and Tejanos unwilling to sacrifice their churches. When in 1967 the diocese merged St. Stephen, a Mexican national parish, with the historically Anglo St. Joseph Church, four blocks away, citing the efficiency of combined operations, St. Stephen's parishioners, many of them Mexican immigrants who regarded the merger as a threat to their "ethnoreligious identity," fought the move for several years. In 1973, the diocese relented and restored St. Stephen as "an independent parish for the Spanish-speaking, with its own resident pastor," and it maintained several Mexican American churches.[68]

Many whites, including Catholics, continued to migrate away from areas where Mexican Americans and African Americans had moved into. Consequently, some formerly white middle class Houston parishes became increasingly black and or Mexican American (although still middle class), while many blacks and ethnic Mexicans remained in wards close to the central business district. Morkovsky maintained support for black and Mexican American Catholic churches and schools in all or mostly black and Mexican American populated areas, while urging integration in outlying parishes with mixed populations. In May 1968, he ordained the first African American Texan, Father Clifton Ransom, "to be ordained for the diocese." In 1969, St. Peter Claver Church in Houston became the first Catholic church in Texas to have a black pastor, Father Elbert F. Harris, a Josephite.[69]

In the second half of the 1960s and early 1970s, Mexican American priests and sisters in

the diocese, such as Father Patricio Flores, director of the diocese's Committee for the Spanish Speaking, Antonio Gonzales, assistant pastor at Houston's Immaculate Heart of Mary Church, and Sister Gloria Graciela Gallardo, the coordinator of the diocese's Committee for the Spanish Speaking, adopted a new strategy concerning Mexican American civil rights. They articulated the demands of the Chicano civil rights movement, which identified ethnic Mexicans as brown, rather than white as an earlier generation of Mexican American civil rights activists had, and pressed the church to support the Chicano drive for equality. In 1969, Flores was among fifty Chicano priests from seven states, who, responding to pressure from Mexican American laity, founded PADRES (Padres Asociados por los Derechos Religiosos, Educativos y Sociales, or Priests Associated for Religious, Educational, and Social Rights) to make the church more responsive to Mexican American Catholic interests. In 1971, Gallardo and Sister Gregoria Ortega became the leaders of Las Hermanas (Sisters), organized at a conference they called in Houston, attended by fifty Mexican American sisters from eight states, to improve the life of Mexican Americans both within and outside the church. The diocese supported striking farmworkers seeking union recognition, materially aided their efforts, and expanded its social service provision for poor Mexican Americans. Furthermore, Treviño notes, "Morkovsky opened the door to greater Mexican American participation and voice in the church." The Second Vatican Council's sanctioning of culturally relevant liturgical forms also led to the introduction of Spanish language Masses.[70]

By contrast, African American Catholics had few black priests in the diocese to articulate and represent their interests. Increasingly, many African American Catholics, though opposed to discrimination, wanted to retain black churches, as they were concerned by the diocese's tendency to close black Catholic institutions and influenced by Black Power's emphasis on black

culture and racial pride. Accordingly, in 1974 the diocese "hired a black layman to be responsible for programs in black parishes." A year later, when the diocese still only had two African American priests, one secular and one religious, and seven black permanent deacons, it created the Commission for Evangelization in the Black Catholic Community to promote "leadership and development" among black Catholics, as well as evangelism.[71]

Because of de facto residential segregation and the preference of many black, Mexican American, and Anglo Catholics for their own distinct churches, many members of these groups continued to attend churches in which they formed the majority. Many parishes, however, were mixed in some degree. Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church in southeast Houston, for example, had African American, Mexican American, and Anglo parishioners. In the early 1970s, more diocesan priests learned Spanish. Majority white parishes increasingly offered one of their Masses in Spanish and Mexican parishes, likewise, provided one of their Masses in English.[72]

Nevertheless, integration in the diocese remained limited. Treviño notes, "Of the thirteen parishes in the Galveston-Houston Diocese that were predominately Mexican American by the early 1970s, six had been canonically established as Mexican American national parishes between 1921 and 1957; the rest had become de facto Mexican parishes as the city's Mexican-origin population expanded greatly in the decades after World War II." In 1975, Morkovsky recorded that "while there are some black students in a large number of our schools, the schools which are either totally or predominately black are doing well." The situation was no different when he retired in 1984, when there were seventeen all black or majority black parishes, sixteen of them staffed by religious orders. Although desegregation of Catholic institutions had ended exclusion and most parishes in the diocese were not entirely black, Anglo, or Mexican American, it had not produced substantial integration. Furthermore, influenced by Black Power and the

Second Vatican Council's reforms, some African American Catholic churches began to develop a black liturgy to reflect their culture and their own distinctive Catholicism.[73]

Nold and Morkovsky's approaches to desegregation were conditioned in part by their personalities but also by the circumstances in which they operated. Fearing segregationist opposition, Nold issued an unpublicized and largely unenforced church desegregation instruction, and he tied parochial school desegregation to secular change, whereas Morkovsky took a more wide-ranging approach in response to greater concern in the Catholic Church more broadly about segregation and racial discrimination and as the African American and Mexican civil rights movements gained momentum. Although Nold might be criticized for his caution, Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans also failed to create enforcement measures for church desegregation and opposition led him to postpone parochial school desegregation repeatedly. In desegregating Catholic institutions, Morkovsky moved ahead of secular desegregation, but neither he, nor sympathetic clergy and laity, were able, despite their efforts, to overcome the white flight and residential segregation that kept many African Americans, ethnic Mexicans, and white Catholics apart. The diocese also did not consult African American, Creole of color, and Mexican American Catholics about the manner in which it tried to implement desegregation. Echoing Behnken's findings that the African American and Mexican civil rights movements in Texas were largely distinct from one another, segregated Catholics, who differed in language, culture and color, did not cooperate in a common struggle against the discrimination they experienced in an Anglo-dominated diocese. In the 1970s, however, the diocese recognized that, while opposed to segregation and exclusion, many black and Mexican and Mexican American Catholics wanted to preserve the African American and Mexican American Catholic institutions that had nurtured and sustained them. Although Morkovsky had ended forced segregation in the

diocese, when he retired in 1984 the diocese had not accomplished the integration that he had envisaged and begun working toward twenty years earlier.

* Mark Newman is reader in history at the University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom. He thanks the University of Edinburgh Development Trust Research Fund, the British Academy, the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, and the Leverhulme Trust for the financial support that made this article possible.

[1] Madeline E. Johnson to Mark Newman, Oct. 31, 2006, interview (quotation); Tyina L. Steptoe, *Houston Bound: Culture and Color in a Jim Crow City* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 2–4, 7, 60, 63, 68–73, 75, 110; Tyina Leaneice Steptoe, "Dixie West: Race, Migration, and the Color Lines in Jim Crow Houston" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2008), 9, 11, 170–173, 181, 183, 186–187, 191; Catherine Rogan, "First Catholic Church established to serve Houston's African-American Community Celebrates its 125th Anniversary," <https://www.archgh.org/news-data/latest-news/first-catholic-church-established-to-serve-houston-s-african-american-community-celebrates-its-125th-anniversary/> [Accessed Sept. 15, 2019]. The definition of Creole of color is contested. Historian Bernadette Pruitt observes that "Although many define 'Black' Creoles as descendants of 'Frenchmen' and African or African-descent women, others give a broader definition that includes all White fathers who lived in Louisiana prior to the Civil War: French or Spanish Creoles or Louisiana natives, French immigrants, Anglo-Americans as well as others of European extraction, and Acadians/Cajuns"; See Pruitt, *The Other Great Migration: The Movement of Rural African Americans to Houston, 1900–1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2013), 78. On the Louisiana Creole language see Fehintola Mosadomi, "The Origins of Louisiana Creole," in *Creole: The History*

and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color, ed. Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 223–243.

[2] Roberto R. Treviño, *The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 25 (first and second quotations), 32, 104–105, 108; Steptoe, "Dixie West," 1 (third quotation), 12, 117, 123–124, 170–172, 183, 195–196; Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 64–67, 73, 78, 110, 116–117. In 1921, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, previously a mission of Immaculate Conception Church, an Anglo church that excluded or segregated Mexicans, became a national parish "exclusively for Spanish-speaking parishioners in Houston"; Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 87, 104, 108, 243n15 (quotation).

[3] Gregorio P. Gonzales to the *Texas Catholic Herald* (Houston edition), Aug. 20, 1964; Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 87; Natalie Garza, "The 'Mother Church' of Mexican Catholicism in Houston," *Houston History* 9, no. 1 (2012): 14–15; Steptoe, "Dixie West," 12, 126–130, 133, 145–146, 155–156; Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 12, 81–83, 85–86, 93–98, 104, 118 (quotation), 126–127; Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 23–35.

[4] "A New Bishop," *Texas Catholic Herald* (Houston edition), Jan. 7, 1966; Michael L. Gillette, "The Rise of the NAACP in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 81 (April 1978): 393–416; Robert D. Bullard, *Invisible Houston: The Black Experience in Boom and Bust* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987); Howard Beeth and Cary D. Wintz (eds.), *Black Dixie: Afro-Texan History and Culture in Houston* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992); Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of African Americans in Texas, 1528–1995*

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Thomas R. Cole, *No Color Is My Kind: The Life of Eldrewey Stearns and the Integration of Houston* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997); William Henry Kellar, *Making Haste Slowly: Moderates, Conservatives, and School Desegregation in Houston* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999); Merline Pitre, *In Struggle against Jim Crow: Lulu B. White and the NAACP, 1900–1957* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999); Robert Calvert, "The Civil Rights Movement in Texas," in *The Texas Heritage*, ed. Ben Proctor and Archie P. McDonald (4d ed.; Wheeling, Ill., Harlan Davidson, 2003), 225–246; Alwyn Barr, "The Civil Rights Movement in Texas," in *Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West*, ed. Bruce A. Glasrud and Cary D. Wintz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 236–254. The growing historiography about Catholics and desegregation in the United States includes John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); R. Bentley Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947–1956* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005); Cecilia A. Moore, "'To Serve Through Compelling Love': The Society of Christ Our King in Danville, Virginia, 1963," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 24 (Fall 2006): 83–103; Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., "Black Catholics in the Civil Rights Movement in the Southern United States: A. P. Tureaud, Thomas Wyatt Turner, and Earl Johnson," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 24 (Fall 2006): 69–81; Amy L. Koehlinger, *The New Nuns: Racial Justice and Religious Reform in the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007); Andrew S. Moore, *The South's Tolerable Alien: Roman Catholics in Alabama and Georgia, 1945–1970* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007); Patrick D. Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010); Shannen Dee Williams, "Black Nuns and

the Struggle to Desegregate Catholic America After World War I" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2013); Karen J. Johnson, *One in Christ: Chicago Catholics and the Quest for Interracial Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); and Mark Newman, *Desegregating Dixie: The Catholic Church in the South and Desegregation, 1945–1992* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018).

[5] Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles*, 1–12 (first quotation on p. 2; second and third quotations on p. 12); Max Krochmal, *Blue Texas: The Making of a Multiracial Democratic Coalition in the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 2–9 (fourth quotation on p. 6). Much like Behnken, Tyina L. Steptoe argues that "Both African Americans and ethnic Mexicans wanted to avoid Jim Crow, but they launched two separate civil rights movements that did not typically involve one another at the political level." Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 187–190 (quotation 187–188).

[6] Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 9, 32–33, 36–37, 81, 83, 87–93, 111, 113–115, 122–123, 236n98, 245–246n44; Roberto R. Treviño, "Facing Jim Crow: Catholic Sisters and the 'Mexican Problem' in Texas," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34 (Summer 2003): 143–146, 148–149, 154–155, 160; Garza, "'Mother Church' of Mexican Catholicism in Houston," 15–18; James Talmadge Moore, *Acts of Faith: The Catholic Church in Texas, 1900–1950* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 149–150; Bob Giles, "Josephite Fathers: 'Goodbye God, I'm Going to Texas,'" *Texas Catholic Herald* (Beaumont edition), Mar. 14, 1980; Stephen J. Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871–1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 407; Steptoe, "Dixie West," 194, 202; Frank H. Ross and Lisa May, *Recall, Rejoice, Renew: Diocese of Galveston-Houston, 1847–1997* (Dallas: Taylor, 1997), 33, 127–128, 166, 169, 173, 175, 189–190; *The Josephites and the*

African American Community: State of Texas, 1901–2001 (Baltimore: Society of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 2001), 2–11; Robert C. Giles, *Changing Times: The Story of the Diocese of Galveston Houston in Commemoration of its Founding* (n.p., Diocese of Galveston-Houston, 1972), 108, 151, 177, 201; Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 90, 97, 120, 141, 142, 156, 160, 162–163. The Sisters of the Holy Family took over the teaching of St. Nicholas School from the white Sisters of the Incarnate Word and Blessed Sacrament in 1905. Pruitt, *Other Great Migration*, 114. On the Sisters of the Holy Family see Tracy Fessenden, "The Sisters of the Holy Family and the Veil of Race," *Religion and American Culture* 10 (Summer 2000): 187–224.

[7] Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 4–5 (first and second quotations on p. 4), 10–11, 93, 97–98, 102, 120–122, 245–246n44. Just as Creoles of color helped raise funds to build Our Mother of Mercy, ethnic Mexicans also contributed funds that helped build national parish churches in the communities they established in different wards in Houston. Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 111, 129, 131, 134, 249n27; Garza, "'Mother Church' of Mexican Catholicism in Houston," 17–18.

[8] Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 122–126, 221; "History of Christ Our Light Catholic Church," <https://christourlight.org/history-christ-our-light-church> [Accessed Feb. 13, 2020]; Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles*, 23–32 (quotations on p. 25); Steptoe, "Dixie West," 157–159; Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 129–131, 143, 147–148. On Mexican Americans and the struggle for white rights see Thomas A. Guglielmo, "Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil Rights in World War II Texas," *Journal of American History* 92 (March 2006): 1212–1237.

[9] Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 161, 163, 185–186, 197, 214–215, 225; Steptoe, "Dixie West," 250; Patricia Pando, "In the Nickel: Houston's Fifth Ward," *Houston History* 8, no. 3 (2011): 35.

[10] *The Official Catholic Directory 1945* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1945), 2; "KKK Fellow Travelers," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Apr. 22, 1965; *Our Negro and Indian Missions: Annual Report of the Secretary of the Commission for the Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians*, January 1946, 17–18; January 1966, 21 (Archives of the Society of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart, Baltimore, Maryland; cited hereafter as ASSJ); Howard Beeth and Cary D. Wintz, introduction to *Black Dixie*, eds. Beeth and Wintz, 94; Donald J. Butler to *Our Colored Missions* 40 (February 1954): 28; Pruitt, *Other Great Migration*; Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 319–320, 361–362, 375, 381, 390, 407, 420, 440, 456–460; Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 41–42; Kellar, *Making Haste Slowly*, 15. In 1959, the Josephites appointed Ball, a Washington, D.C., native, as assistant pastor at Our Mother of Mercy Church in Houston, in which role he remained until his death in 1970. The fact that Ball was so light-skinned that he could pass as white may have eased his appointment to and acceptance by a traditionally Creole of color parish. Ball, historian Stephen J. Ochs records, "used skin creams and hair straighteners to whiten his appearance even more." Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 319–320, 361–362, 420 (quotation), 443; *Josephites and the African American Community: State of Texas*, 11.

[11] Butler to *Our Colored Missions*, 28; Diocesan Director of Charities to Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Sept. 14, 1946 (first quotation), folder 35, box 1, RG 2.42, Associated Catholic Charities Collection, 1940–1953 (Archives of the Archdiocese of Galveston-Houston, Houston, Texas, cited hereafter as AAGH); *We've Come This Far By Faith: A Centennial History of Saint Nicholas Catholic Church Houston's Historic Black Parish, 1887–1997* (Houston: American Photocopy and Print Co., 1987), 48 (second quotation); Johnson to Newman, Oct. 31, 2006; *Centennial: the Story of the Development of the Kingdom of God on Earth in that Portion of the Vineyard which for One Hundred Years Has Been the Diocese of Galveston* (Houston: Catholic

Youth Organization, 1947), 44–45, 71, 78, 87, 90–91, 144, 161, 169; *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1946, 14–16, January 1947, 11–13, January 1950, 12–13, ASSJ; James F. Vanderholt, Carolyn B. Martinez, and Karen A. Gilman, *The Diocese of Beaumont: The Catholic Story of Southeast Texas* (Beaumont: Catholic Diocese of Beaumont, 1991), 108, 121, 125–128, 135, 140, 214–215, 219–220, 309–310, 323–324, 349–350; Pruitt, *Other Great Migration*, 115.

[12] Bishop Wendelin Nold to David Courtwright, Aug. 20, 1975, interview, Houston Oral History Project, Houston Public Library Digital Archives, <http://digital.houstonlibrary.net/oral-history/wendelin-nold_OH053.php> [Accessed Sept. 19, 2019]; *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1949, January 1951, 7–10, ASSJ; "Bishop Christopher Edward Byrne," <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bbyrnec.html> [Accessed Oct. 13, 2007]; Ross and May, *Recall, Rejoice, Renew*, 48; Giles, *Changing Times*, 177–178.

[13] Charles Harbutt, "The Church and Integration," *Jubilee* 6 (Feb. 1959): 8; McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 71.

[14] Newman, *Desegregating Dixie*, 14; Pope Pius XII, "Mystici Corporis Christi," *Catholic Mind* 41 (November 1943): 1–44 (first quotation on p. 3; second quotation on p. 37); "Toward a Good Peace," *Catholic Virginian* 18 (December 1943): 46 (third quotation).

[15] Joseph F. Rummel, "Blessed Are the Peacemakers," Mar. 15, 1953, folder 4, box 8, series 33, National Catholic Council for Interracial Justice Records (Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; cited hereafter as NCCIJR).

[16] W. J. Nold to the "Reverend Pastors," Aug. 29, 1953 (quotation), folder 4, box 3, RG 2.1.9, Chancery Files, Bishops' Files, Nold, Wendelin J., AAGH.

[17] Nold to the "Reverend Pastors," Aug. 29, 1953 (quotations); Vincent M. Rizzotto to Mark Newman, Nov. 1, 2006, interview.

[18] Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915–1972* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 167, 172.

[19] *Wall Street Journal*, Feb.14, 1958 (first and second quotations); "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Bishops of the United States," Nov. 12, 1958, 3–5, 7 (American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.); *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1958 (third quotation).

[20] Vincent W. Harris to Henry Cabirac Jr., June 23, 1961, folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR.

[21] *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 1960.

[22] Harris to Cabirac, May 22, 1961 (first, second and third quotations), folder 6, box 5, series 11, Harris to Cabirac, June 8 (fourth and fifth quotations), folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR. In 1969, the diocese placed the church under the Society of the Divine Word, an integrated religious order, which sent two African American priests: Father John N. LaBauve as pastor and Father Clifton Labbe as assistant pastor. Giles, *Changing Times*, 63, 147; "Father John Nathan Labauve," *Sun Herald* (Biloxi, Miss.), July 20, 2008, <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/sunherald/obituary.aspx?n=john-nathan-labauve&pid=113756398> [Accessed Sept. 23, 2019].

[23] W. J. Nold to "Dearly Beloved," Apr. 3, 1961 (first quotation), folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; W. J. Nold to the "Reverend Pastors of Galveston and Harris Counties," Apr. 3, 1961 (second quotation), folder 14, box 3, RG 2.1.9, Chancery Files, Bishops' Files, Nold Wendelin J., AAGH.

[24] Nold to the "Reverend Pastors of Galveston and Harris Counties," Apr. 3, 1961.

[25] Ibid.

[26] W. J. Nold to "Dearly Beloved," Apr. 3, 1961.

[27] Harris to Henry, May 22, 1961 (first quotation); Harris to Cabirac, June 23, 1961 (second and third quotations).

[28] Harris to Cabirac, May 22 (quotation), June 8, 23, 1961.

[29] Harris to Cabirac, Oct. 17, 1961, folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR.

[30] Vincent D. Williams to Catholic Interracial Council of New York, Inc., Oct. 7, 1961 (quotation), folder 6, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; "Chart Showing Catholic Facilities Desegregated As Of July 1, 1961," *Catholic Council on Human Relations of the Archdiocese of News Orleans Newsletter* 1 (September 1961): 3, folder 17, box 3 (Catholic Council on Human Relations Papers, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, Louisiana).

[31] Henry Cabirac to Wendelin J. Nold, Mar. 22, 1963, and accompanying note from Cabirac to Matt [Ahmann], folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; Ross and May, *Recall, Rejoice, Renew*, 53, 55; "Bishop John Louis Morkovsky," <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmork.html> [Accessed Oct. 13, 2007]; James F. Vanderholt, "Nold, Wendelin J.," *The Handbook of Texas Online* <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fno28> [Accessed Feb. 15, 2019].

[32] *Pacem in Terris: Encyclical Letter of Pope John XXIII, April 11, 1963* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1963), 12 (first quotation), 22; Robert E. Tracy, *American Bishop at the Vatican Council*, 129–138 (second quotation on p. 138), in "The Record of the Diocese Of Baton Rouge in work for The Negro In The Community 1961–1968," Historical Vertical File (Archives of the Diocese of Baton Rouge, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

[33] Vince Williams to Henry Cabirac Jr., Aug. 3, 1963, folder 6, box 16, Cabirac to John L. Morkovsky, Aug. 28, 1963, Vincent M. Harris to Cabirac, Oct. 2, 1963 (quotations), folder 7, box 16, Charles W. Ternes to Cabirac, Apr. 7, 1964, folder 9, box 15, series 33, NCCIJR. Although Beaumont officially desegregated the first grade of public schools in September 1963,

no African Americans applied for admission to white schools. In April 1964, a federal district court approved Beaumont's twelve-year grade-a-year desegregation plan initiated the previous year. John D. Worrell, "Twenty Years in Beaumont," attached to Charles W. Ternes to J. Oscar Lee, June 5, 1964, folder 9, box 15, series 33, NCCIJR.

[34] John L. Morkovsky to Patrick O'Boyle, Sept. 9, 1963 (quotation), folder "DIO: Civil Rights," no box, AAGH; John E. McCarthy, "Memorandum for the Record," Sept. 11, 1963, "Interfaith Clergy, Laity Will Seek Racial Amity," press clipping dated Sept. 21, 1963, "Houston Conference on Religion and Race," Oct. 15, 1963, folder 4, box 7, Bishop John E. McCarthy Papers (Catholic Archives of Texas, Austin, Texas; cited hereafter as CAT).

[35] "Houston Conference on Religion and Race," Oct. 15, 1963; "Houston priest assigned to Spanish-speaking post," undated *Texas Catholic Herald* clipping, folder 15, box 2, McCarthy Papers, CAT; John E. McCarthy to Mark Newman, Oct. 25, 2006, interview; Joseph A. Fiorenza to Mark Newman, Oct. 30, 2006, interview; Rizzotto to Newman, Nov. 1, 2006; John McCarthy, memorandum "Community Relations Committee, Diocese Galveston-Houston," Mar. 2, 1964, John L. Morkovsky, letter dated Mar. 13, 1964, John McCarthy to John L. Morkovsky, Apr. 20, 1964, and attached "First Meeting, April 14, 1964, 2:00 p.m.," RG 2.1 Catholic Council on Community Relations, AAGH; "Bishop proclaims Aug. 30 as 'Social Justice Sunday,'" *Texas Catholic Herald*, Aug. 27, 1964; "All Saints Parish Houston Texas," folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; "Community Relations unit set up," *Texas Catholic Herald*, May 14, 1964.

[36] "Community Relations unit set up" (quotations).

[37] Memorandum, Jack Sisson to Matt Ahmann, "Visit to Houston, June 29 & 30, 1964," July 17, 1964, folder 5, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR.

[38] "First Meeting, April 14, 1964, 2:00 p.m." (first quotation), attached to McCarthy to Morkovsky, Apr. 20, 1964; Charles W. Ternes to Henry Cabirac, Apr. 7, 1964 (second quotation), folder 9, box 15, series 33, NCCIJR.

[39] Charles W. Ternes to Henry Cabirac, Apr. 30, 1964, Charles W. Ternes to J. Oscar Lee, June 5, 1964 (quotations), folder 9, box 15, series 33, NCCIJR.

[40] "2 priests to be at meeting on religion, race," *Texas Catholic Herald*, May 21, 1964; "Battle bias, religions are told," *Catholic Week*, press clipping, dated May 28, 1964 (quotations), folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR.

[41] "Seeking justice for all," *Texas Catholic Herald*, May 14, 1964 (quotation); "No bouquets for Houston," *Texas Catholic Herald*, May 28, 1964; "Houston Mayor Spurns Plea to Form Rights Commission," *Alamo Messenger*, Aug. 27, 1965.

[42] John L. Morkovsky to John Tower, May 26, 1964 (first quotation), John L. Morkovsky to Ralph Yarborough, May 26, 1964 (second quotation), John G. Tower to John L. Morkovsky, June 9, 1964, Ralph Yarborough to "Dear Friend," no date, folder "DIO: Civil Rights," no box, AAGH; *New York Times*, Mar. 20, 1964.

[43] "Commitment to Racial Justice," n.d. (quotations), folder 6, box 5, series 11 "Southern Field Service Report for November 1963 through September, 1964 – A Survey of Activities; and General Observations," 4, folder 8, box 4, series 30, NCCIJR; "Statement on 'rights,'" *Texas Catholic Herald*, June 4, 1964.

[44] "Skating rinks refuse integrated club here," *Texas Catholic Herald*, June 25, 1964; James L. Golasinski to John P. Sisson, July 6, 1964, folder 6, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; *Houston Post*, July 1, 1964; Rizzotto to Newman, Nov. 1, 2006; Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 218.

[45] "New era in human relations," *Texas Catholic Herald*, July 2, 1964.

[46] "Off-target criticism," *Texas Catholic Herald,* July 23, 1964.

[47] Mrs. Paul C. Bernard to the *Texas Catholic Herald,* Aug. 6, 1964 (first and second quotations); "Concerned Catholic Caucasian Married and Middle-aged" to the *Texas Catholic Herald,* Aug. 13, 1964 (third quotation).

[48] Matthew H. Talty III to the *Texas Catholic Herald,* Aug. 27, 1964.

[49] John L. Morkovsky, "Social Justice Week," *Texas Catholic Herald,* Aug. 27, 1964.

[50] Vincent Rizzotto, "Report of Committee on Race Relations," Nov. 3, 1964, RG 2.1 "Catholic Council on Community Relations (CCCR)," AAGH; Vincent M. Rizzoto to Jack Sisson, Sept. 25, 1964 (quotation), folder 7, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR.

[51] "Bishop proclaims Aug. 30 as 'Social Justice Sunday,'" *Texas Catholic Herald,* Aug. 27, 1964; Rizzotto, "Report of Committee on Race Relations," Nov. 3, 1964; Rizzotto to Sisson, Sept. 25, 1964 (quotation).

[52] "Racial unit names 13," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Oct. 22, 1964; Rizzotto, "Report of Committee on Race Relations," Nov. 3, 1964; Rizzotto to Sisson, Sept. 25, 1964; Vincent M. Rizzoto to Jack Sisson, Dec. 30, 1964, and attached Catholic Interracial Committee minutes, Dec. 11, 1964, folder 5, box 16, "Racial unit's stand sparks controversy," press clipping, no date, attached to memorandum, Jack [Sisson] to Matt [Ahmann], "CIC of Houston/Public School Bond Issue," May 18, 1965, folder 6, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; "Race justice panel starts fund drive," *Texas Catholic Herald,* Feb. 4, 1966; *Our Negro and Indian Missions,* January 1964, 7–20, 1965, 10, ASSJ; Rizzotto to Newman, Nov. 1, 2006.

[53] Rizzoto to Sisson, Sept. 25, 1964 (first quotation); Catholic Interracial Committee minutes, Dec. 11, 1964, attached to Rizzoto to Sisson, Dec. 30, 1964; Rizzotto, "Report of Committee on Race Relations," Nov. 3, 1964 (second quotation).

[54] Catholic Interracial Committee minutes, Feb. 12, 1965 (quotation), and attached "Home Visit Program," folder 5, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR.

[55] "Home Visit Program" (quotations), attached to Catholic Interracial Committee minutes, Feb.12, 1965; "Interracial home visits, Sunday," *Texas Catholic Herald,* Mar. 25, 1965.

[56] "Interracial home visits, Sunday"; "600 Houstonians take part in interracial home visits," *Texas Catholic Herald,* Apr. 1, 1965 (quotations); "Follow-up plans made for interracial visiting," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Apr. 15, 1965; "Interracial home visits declared effective in promoting goodwill," *Texas Catholic Herald*, May 20, 1965.

[57] "Follow-up plans made for interracial visiting," (first, second and third quotations); "Color and Catholicism," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Apr. 8, 1965 (fourth and fifth quotations); "Interracial home visits declared effective in promoting goodwill."

[58] "Race justice challenge to all, Houston rally told," *Texas Catholic Herald,* Mar. 18, 1965.

[59] "Nuns 'inspire' Selma marchers," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Mar. 18, 1965 (quotations); "Selma marchers' dedication praised," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Mar. 25, 1965; "Klan head says only imposters, no priests, nuns in Selma march," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Sept. 24, 1965; "Witnesses in Selma," *Josephite Harvest* 77 (May–June 1965): 9; Fiorenza to Newman, Oct. 30, 2006; McCarthy to Newman, Oct. 25, 2006; Rizzotto to Newman, Nov. 1, 2006.

[60] "Who is my Neighbor?," *Texas Catholic Herald,* Mar. 25, 1965 (first and second quotations); J. E. Hollmann to the *Texas Catholic Herald,* Apr. 15, 1965 (third quotation).

[61] Edward J. Eugere and Francis S. Yeager, "Open Letter to Catholic Taxpayers in Houston Independent School District," May 7, 1965, folder "Interracial," no box, AAGH; "Ballots and Involvement," *Texas Catholic Herald*, May 27, 1965 (quotation); "Vote for School Board Is Record," press clipping, no date, Carl A. Balcerak, "Racial unit's stand sparks controversy,"

press clipping, no date, attached to memorandum, Jack [Sisson] to Matt [Ahmann], "CIC of Houston/Public School Bond Issue," May 18, 1965, folder 6, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR.

[62] Ross and May, *Recall, Rejoice, Renew,* 222; *Our Negro and Indian Missions,* January 1963, 7–10, January 1964, 7–20, January 1965, 10, January 1966, 7–11, ASSJ.

[63] Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 116, 221–222, 247n62; Ross and May, *Recall, Rejoice, Renew*, 212.

[64] "Social Justice Sunday proclaimed in diocese," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Aug. 19, 1965; "Social Justice Sunday talks slated in 6 Houston parishes" and "Social Justice Sunday Proclamation by Bishop," *Texas Catholic Herald*, Aug. 27, 1965; "Equal opportunity, charity seen essentials in social justice talks," *Texas Catholic Herald,* Sept. 3, 1965.

[65] *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1966, 7–11 (quotation), January 1967, 7–11, January 1968, 7–11, Jan. 1969, 7–10, ASSJ; Vanderholt, Martinez and Gilman, *Diocese of Beaumont*, 121; Ross and May, *Recall, Rejoice, Renew*, 55; "Diocese of Beaumont," <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dbeau.html> [Accessed Oct. 13, 2007]. A combination of declining school enrollment, support for integration, and financial pressures had led the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, who staffed the school in Beaumont and Sacred Heart High School in Port Arthur, to ask the diocese to accept their withdrawal. Sacred Heart High School closed in 1966. SBS Original Annals, v. 47 (January 1964): 125–129, v. 48 (January–May 1965): 110, v. 49 (1966): 23, 101 (Archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Bensalem, Pennsylvania).

[66] John L. Morkovsky to "Dear Father," Sept. 27, 1966 (first quotation), RG 2.1.9, Chancery Files Bishops' Files, folder "Morkovsky, John L. Circular Letters. April-Oct. 1967," box 4, AAGH; "Policy of the Diocese of Galveston-Houston on Human Dignity," folder 7, box 16, memorandum, Jack Sisson to Matt Ahmann, "Visit to Galveston and Houston, Mar. 11, 13 [*sic*],

and 13, 1966," Mar. 16, 1966, 2 (second quotation), folder 5, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; "New statement outlines diocesan justice policy" and "Diocese to feature social justice day," *Texas Catholic Herald* (Houston edition), Oct. 14, 1966; *Houston Chronicle*, Oct. 13, 1966; David Dolin, "Church can give moral leadership for racial equality, conference told," *Texas Catholic Herald* (Houston edition), Oct. 21, 1966; Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 257n61.

[67] *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1967, 7–11 (quotation), ASSJ; "Houston home visit program to take place in 6 areas, Feb. 5," *Texas Catholic Herald* (Houston edition), Jan. 27, 1967; John L. Morkovsky "To All the Pastors in Houston," Jan. 12, 1967, RG 2.1.9, Chancery Files Bishops' Files, folder "Morkovsky, John L. Circular Letters. Jan-March 1967," box 4, AAGH; "Home visiting project speaker warns of Houston race problem," *Texas Catholic Herald* (Houston edition), Feb. 3, 1967; Bob Giles, "Forum on Houston injustice cancelled for lack of support," *Texas Catholic Herald* (Houston edition), Dec. 8, 1967.

[68] Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 12, 99, 120, 122, 123–125, 144–153 (first quotation on p. 153; second quotation on p. 149).

[69] "Seek Housing Ordinance," *Alamo Messenger*, Mar. 29, 1968; *Houston Chronicle*, Apr. 25, 1968; Catholic Intra-racial Committee of Houston to John L. Morkovsky, May 30, 1969, folder 9, box 16, series 33, NCCIJR; *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1970, 7–10, January 1976, 7–11, ASSJ; Bishop John Morkovsky to David Courtwright, Aug. 13, 1975, interview, Houston Oral History Project, Houston Public Library Digital Archives, <http://digital.houstonlibrary.net/oral-history/bishop-morkovsky_OH055.php> [Accessed Sept. 20, 2019]; Giles, *Changing Times*, 63 (quotation), 200; Bullard, *Invisible Houston*, 23–31.

[70] Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 101, 182–185, 187–205 (quotation on p. 202), 212, 262n64; Timothy M. Matovina, "Representation and the Reconstruction of Power: The Rise of PADRES

and Las Hermanas," in *What's Left?: Liberal American Catholics*, ed. Mary Jo Weaver (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 220–237; Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles*, 102–103, 106, 108, 170–173, 177; Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 211.

[71] Johnson to Newman, Oct. 31, 2006; Fiorenza to Newman, Oct. 30, 2006; *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1975, 7–11 (first quotation), January 1976, 7–11, ASSJ; "Statistical Profile of Black Catholics of the State of Texas," attached to Larry J. Payne to John McCarthy, June 29, 1976, folder 2, box 45, Texas Catholic Conference Records, CAT; "The Commission for Evangelization in the Black Catholic Community," Apr. 2, 1975, 1–3 (second quotation on p. 2), RG 2.1.9, Chancery Files Bishops' Files, box 4, folder "Morkovsky, John L. Circular Letters. April-Dec. 1975," AAGH.

[72] Giles, *Changing Times*, 177; Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 236n98; Morkovsky to Courtwright, Aug. 13, 1975.

[73] Treviño, *Church in the Barrio*, 224n13 (first quotation); *Our Negro and Indian Missions*, January 1975, 7–11 (second quotation), ASSJ; "Statistical Profile of Black Catholics of the State of Texas"; John L. Morkovsky to "All Pastors," Jan. 9, 1980, RG 2.1.9, Chancery Files Bishops' Files, folder "Morkovsky, John L. Circular Letters. April-Dec. 1975," box 4, AAGH; "Black Auxiliary Bishop Appointed to Diocese," *National Catholic Mentor* 2 (January–February 1988): 1.